

FOCUS ON FESTIVALS

CONTEMPORARY
EUROPEAN CASE STUDIES
AND PERSPECTIVES

Edited by

**Chris Newbold, Christopher Maughan,
Jennie Jordan and Franco Bianchini**



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Preface

Christopher Maughan

The aim of this book, *Focus on Festivals*, is to present a collection of work that adds to the limited literature about one of our most ubiquitous cultural phenomena, festivals, and to stimulate interest in their study and increase understanding about their importance in contemporary society. An important contribution to the development of this book was given by Dragan Klaić. He committed himself to publishing such a book as part of his work for the European Festival Research Project (EFRP), which he set up in 2004. Sadly, he was unable to realise this aspect of his vision but his colleagues in EFRP continued working on the project following his untimely death in 2011.

It was partly in response to Dragan's passionate and critical engagement with festivals that the authors featured in this collection responded to invitations by Franco Bianchini and myself, and agreed to contribute their work as a tribute to Dragan. The editors wish to acknowledge their generosity in agreeing to the inclusion of their essays and in this way enabling many others to benefit from their experience and insights.

EFRP is an international, interdisciplinary consortium, focused on the dynamics of artistic festivals in contemporary life. One of its principal aims is to understand the underlying causes of the current proliferation of festivals, the resource implications and diagnostic perspectives. Dragan's personal interest was predominantly in those festivals that are driven by a firm artistic vision, involving international programming and which benefit from substantial support from public authorities.

The focus on Europe is a reflection of the fact that EFRP was a consortium with a membership drawn largely from researchers, festival managers and policy-makers who are based in Europe. This collection reflects other voices and perspectives on the aims and impacts of festivals in contemporary Europe with the addition of an essay by Robyn Archer, 'A view from Australia'.

In the period 2004 to 2011, EFRP, drawing upon Dragan's inexhaustible address book and personal charisma, encouraged new and established researchers to write research papers, and share their knowledge in intensive research workshops on specific topics where the results of their research were presented and discussed. Such workshops took place in Nitra (2005), Leicester and Le Mans (2006), Barcelona (2007), Helsinki and Moscow (2008) Novi Sad and Leeds (2009), Poznan (2010) and Strasbourg and Maribor (2011).

It was from these myriad sources that Dragan proposed to develop an edited book on festival politics, programming, impacts and governance and which might also serve as a source of conclusions, trends, forecasts and recommendations for festival managers, public authorities (as subsidy givers) and potential sponsors. At the present time all research outcomes are accessible in a public repository at the website of the European Festivals Association (<http://www.efa-aef.eu/efahome/efrp.cfm>).

The genesis of this book as a final outcome of EFRP has drawn together a collection of research perspectives that reveals the richness of the work and thought that is being applied to the festivals sector in a European context. However, compared to the volume and depth of work available in other cultural sectors, the festivals sector is still relatively under-researched. The scope for future research is wide and many features of this ubiquitous phenomenon are still ripe for investigation.

This collection is a companion to a slimmer publication, *Festivals in Focus*, published by the Budapest Observatory in conjunction with the Central European University in 2014 (Klaić 2014). That book features an important part of Dragan's legacy, four essays with which he intended to introduce a collective volume of work derived from EFRP seminars. Because of his untimely death these chapters have to be seen as work in progress. Nonetheless, these four essays display his sharp critical ability and raise many interesting questions about festivals, not just in Europe but in a global context.

The two themes at the heart of *Festivals in Focus* are echoed in this collection too. The first is the role festivals play in contemporary life. This includes the need to understand the social, cultural, political, economic and physical contexts in which festivals operate. But we should also reflect on how the international dimension of artistic festivals – strongly advocated by Dragan – is precisely what allows them to make a deeper, critical and transformative contribution, by relativising and questioning the fundamentals of our everyday lives, political arrangements and ethical values.

The second insight is to the understanding that Dragan Klaić himself had of the fragile world of festivals. Dragan thought that artistic festivals could make a significant contribution to achieving a more internationalist approach to arts programming, audience development and integration with local policy agendas, ranging from economic regeneration and tourism to education and social inclusion. Dragan's advocacy and promotion of EFRP was an important aspect of his encouragement of a more longitudinal and collegiate approach to research and of his expectation of critical reflection. He profoundly believed that festivals had the potential (denied to many

continuously operating organisations) to explore a more risk-oriented arts agenda. Such openness of artistic festivals to innovation and risk would bring them closer to a key feature of his life's work: the idea of 'Europe as a cultural project'.

It is hoped that, as well as being a fitting tribute to him and his passionate evocation of arts festivals, this collection will stimulate greater interest in the sector and a deeper analysis of the benefits that festivals deliver globally as well as within Europe.

Bibliography

Klaić, D. (2014) *Festivals in Focus*, Budapest: Budapest Observatory and CEU

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The editors would like to acknowledge the financial support received from the European Cultural Foundation funding for the establishment of EFRP in 2004, and the support we have received from the European Festivals Association and the British Arts Festivals Association.

Special thanks are due also to Julia Bala, widow of the late Dragan Klaić, for being continuously supportive of this project and its companion *Festivals in Focus*.

Introduction: focusing on festivals

Chris Newbold, Jennie Jordan, Franco Bianchini and Christopher Maughan

In focusing on festivals it is our intention in this introduction to reflect and illustrate the diversity of thought, themes and theories that have emerged from the variety of case studies in this book. Even though festivals have probably been a part of people's experience since human interactions began, their academic study is still in its infancy. Indeed as a relatively new area of critical endeavour, which has yet to find its own language and voice, its researchers are drawing on a wide range of academic approaches from anthropology, sociology and policy analysis (for example, Giorgi et al's, (2011) discussion of festivals as part of the cultural public sphere and Quinn's (2010) work on the policy implications of urban arts festivals), to management theory and economics, in order to shed light on this new field (as discussed in Getz, 2012). This collection is consequently eclectic and broadly based, including contributions from festival organisers, event managers, academics and cultural and community activists. As the case studies in this book illustrate, festivals do not take place in a vacuum, they are the result of a range of social and cultural pressures, organisational and management decisions, and artist and audience expectations. Attending a festival may well be a liminal, 'time out of time' experience for the participants. However for the organisers it is the result of a series of negotiations and actions, within the context of the wider political, economic, social and cultural climate. It is this core understanding that informs the contributions in this book.

Focus on Festivals is divided into four sections, reflecting what we have identified as the major areas of interest for academics, organisers and students of festivals.

- ◆ In the first section, there are broad issues and perspectives such as festivalisation, sustainability and the role of festivals as part of the 'public sphere'.
- ◆ In the second section we identify issues concerning leadership and management in the sector, such as entrepreneurship, experiences, volunteering and iterative management practices.
- ◆ The third section, on festival impacts, looks at potential effects on urban change, culture in a broad sense and the arts more specifically. We focus particularly on community festivals looking at diversity, multiculturalism and issues of identity and place.

- ◆ The final section examines issues including the future of festivals within the network society, transnational identity and citizenship, and trends which may undermine the important role of festivals as a critical force.

Each of these aspects has their own sets of debates, issues and theories that are illustrated by the case studies and discussed in the introductions to the four sections. This book does not aim to provide an exhaustive explanation and examination of each of these. Readers can amplify for themselves through using the extensive bibliographies. The book rather aims to provide the reader with an indication of the breadth of material that can be applied to contextualising and understanding contemporary festivals in Europe.

Clearly, as this book will demonstrate, there are as many different festivals taking place in Europe as there are definitions of what a festival is. As we are focusing on contemporary festivals in one part of the globe, our definition will inevitably be skewed from the outset. There is always a danger when trying to define festivals of creating a taken-for-granted notion of what a festival is or should be – one which will certainly only ever be partially true. Having said that, it is incumbent upon a text such as this to at least try and establish some shared characteristic features, by which we can say that the events we are describing are worthy of our festivals focus and whether taken-for-granted notions are as sensible as they seem at first glance.

Given their complexity and eclectic nature, it is useful to ask why the study of festivals is important. Understanding and developing a festivals' typology is a prerequisite for achieving a systematic engagement with the festivals sector. Within this book, readers will find examples of festivals that are primarily civic in nature, with values that prioritise community self-celebration; other festivals that place artistic promotion and development at their core; and others that exist principally for profit (Jordan 2014). From a policy perspective, each of these types may be more or less integrated into national or local, urban or cultural policies and may be more or less successful in its own intrinsic or in others' social and political terms (Olsen, 2013).

Embedded within these types are a wide range of potential measures and features that reflect the core aims of each festival. These include the extent to which a festival is: a source of artistic innovation and vitality; transformative (e.g. through educational work); a moment of ambiguity and challenge to the status quo; a source of impacts (which may be cultural/political/social/economic/environmental); a source of local cohesion/pride/identity; a mechanism through which to achieve a change in city/regional identity and to market a locality; an investment in improving the quality of urban life; a project focused on advancing cultural democracy; a way of mobilising new

audiences and/or new partners and stakeholders; a source of entertainment/delight/social networks; a platform for developing intercultural dialogue and intercultural competence; and for achieving change in local and European citizenship/consciousness.

For many people festivals are first and foremost social activities. They serve purposes rooted in collective experience and are part of group living. They are events which punctuate the calendar; they are often short term, a day to a month in length, with a few notable exceptions. They are 'public facing', embedded in social and cultural life, and a 'festive' experience. Activity within festivals tends to have a creative/performance/ritual dimension to its content. They may be formally cultural or commercial (although these are not mutually exclusive) in their outlook and they must attract an audience, who in every sense are equal participants in some or all of the festive activities. The festival experience can be an oppositional one and it should not be banal, trite or trivial. For Pieper, festivity lies in the contrast both to everyday life in which we undertake useful work and to the uselessness of the activity. "To celebrate a festival means to do something which is in no way tied to other goals" (1999: 9). Key to our understanding of a sense of festivity is the disruption of the normal. For many, a festival is a rite of passage in their own personal development and whilst attendance at an arts festival is rarely liminal in its full sense, a deeper understanding of festivals' liminal (Turner, 1987) or life changing/challenging impacts could have significant implications for cultural managers and on policies on programming, management and marketing.

The ancient origins of festivals are often associated with moments of intensive consumption of meat at times of abundance, providing a protein rush leading to mad hedonism, moments of abandonment, the mocking of authority, spectacle, feasts for the senses and aesthetic indulgence. Intensity underlies all these elements. Much of the work on festivals in society historically has been anthropological in its understanding, with rituality at its core (see Bahktin's (1984) seminal work in this area, for example). For anthropologists, festivals are analysed for the functional role they play for societies and groups, providing markers of transition, reaffirmation of status and beliefs, and moments of release. Suffice it to say that the above is only a starting point for thinking about what makes a festival. Readers will inevitably develop a 'thicker' typology as they proceed through the book.

It is obvious that for millennia, festivals have taken place around the globe. However, it may be argued that the 'professionalisation' of the festivals sector began to happen in Europe around the middle of the last century with the emergence of the 'arts and culture' festivals of *Edinburgh* (1947), *Avignon*

(1947) and a heightened awareness of the role of culture in contemporary society in rebuilding Europe after two World Wars. The austerity of the late 1940s and 1950s gave way to a period of great economic growth and social change, and alongside that the development of a cultural infrastructure across Europe. Festivals too became a more familiar part of the landscape, and a career path for cultural professionals began to be made possible through organisations such as the Arts Council of Great Britain, established in 1946, and the development of arts management training courses in the UK and other countries in Western Europe from the 1970s.

Professionally organised expositions and exhibitions, such as *The Great Exhibition* in London in 1851, had been very popular across Britain, Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century. These had been celebrations of industrial achievement, technical and scientific advancement and artistic endeavour. The devastation of two World Wars and the arrival of the mass media and the cultural industries resulted in audiences no longer being drawn to demonstrations of a nations' manufacturing prowess, but rather to its cultural products. The development of cultural festivals such as *Edinburgh*, *Cannes* and the *Berliner Festspiele* can be seen as part of this process.

The development of festivals in Europe from the end of World War Two can be identified as emerging through a number of clear phases. The first period could be defined as 'the age of reconstruction'. This phase, beginning in the late 1940s, was focused on an 'arts for art's sake' notion of cultural policy. The emphasis was not only on the reconstruction of European cities and their cultural facilities after the damage of the Second World War, but also on moral and civic reconstruction. Cultural policies in this period focused on high culture and the main aim was to 'raise' the cultural level of the population through a process of 'democratisation of culture'. The arrival of commercial television, radio and pop culture were all seen as a threat to high cultural standards. This was also the era of the developing Cold War and of the separation of the liberal democratic, capitalist West of Europe from the Communist East. Festivals became important as a counterweight to this process and one of the few ways of brokering East/West dialogue. Artists and other 'cultural ambassadors' were the only people, other than sportsmen and women, to breach the Iron curtain at that time. The re-starting of a cultural dialogue between Eastern and Western Europe was indeed part of the mission of the *Edinburgh* and *Avignon* festivals.

Some festivals in the late 1960s and the 1970s reflected a new phase. They became community-focused and/or explicitly political, and forums for symbolic resistance, an expression of the developing oppositional youth culture and radical movements of that era (including feminism, gay and ethnic

minority activism). A new generation of artists working in social contexts (including deprived neighbourhoods, schools, prisons and factories) was instrumental in the development of these events. Socially engaged artists became known by different names in different European countries (e.g. community arts in Britain, *Sozio-Kultur* in Germany, *animation socioculturelle* in France) but they all shared a belief in the revolutionary potential of involving ordinary people in the artistic process. There was in this age a strong emphasis on participation and a shift from 'democratisation of culture' to 'cultural democracy' which, for many socially engaged artists, would encourage people to recognise their condition of subordination and oppression, and would start a process of radical social and political change. Festivals took over whole cities and emblematic spaces (the free festivals held in Windsor Great Park in England in 1972-74, for example). Symbolically occupied city spaces, incorporating street theatre, open air performances, political rallies, all gave access to the city centre to the poorer classes living in the outer areas of the city. Clearly in this era there was a widening of the definition of festival culture, which came to include circus, mime, popular music and films shows, many of which were free and open to all comers.

In the late 1980s and during the 1990s another phase was consolidated. This had a more commercial and economic development orientation, characterised by the greater involvement of the private sector, which recognised the potential for aligning their business with the PR possibilities of festivals with a captive audience or other opportunities for business development as sponsors. Local authorities also became increasingly interested in festivals as vehicles for urban regeneration, to respond to the process of de-industrialisation and economic restructuring in cities including Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Lille, Bilbao, Barcelona, Turin and Genoa. Festivals during this phase became increasingly part of tourism promotion and city marketing strategies, aimed at attracting increasingly mobile capital, businesses and skilled personnel.

Alongside such macro developments, festivals have become a focus for differentiating between individuals and communities in terms of physical, intellectual, cultural and emotional access. Bourdieu explains the relationship between social class, educational achievement and cultural taste, as being instilled through socialisation, particularly upbringing and education. Taste is exhibited as well as reinforced by the festival environment, in which audiences can signal their understanding of the rules of a particular cultural field, which Bourdieu (1984) calls *cultural capital*. The link between class and cultural consumption may have weakened amongst younger generations as a result of newer forms of distribution, but familiarity with particular genres

reinforces the bonds amongst social groups. Festivals that promote particular art forms are an essential element in reinforcing and developing taste and therefore of reinforcing tribal identities, a factor that sponsors utilise to establish their brands. Understanding more about festival audiences and their decision-making would sharpen marketing and communication.

Alongside this we have already noted the increased professionalisation of the sector. The professionalisation process can strengthen a festival and its future but equally it can lead to risk aversion and self-censorship by all festivals, especially those which become reliant on sponsorship with the constraints that this can impose. Key questions are: does sponsorship influence programming and decision-making? And will increased reliance on sponsorship lead to more and more similar festival offerings?

Another management issue that is receiving more attention is the sector's reliance on, or exploitation of, volunteers and increasingly internships. Festival organisations are more dependent on casual staff than many other cultural institutions, especially those which are building-based. Part of the explanation may well lie in their history, that of being community or artist-based organisations, but there are also managerial issues, as the festival organisation may have to expand rapidly from a small group of employees (four or five is typical and which may include paid, casual and unpaid staff) to a very large group (several thousand) when the event commences.

The model has become more complex with a mixture of communities of taste and the increasing influence of the urban regeneration, tourism and economic development agendas. This ultimately has led to a post-millennial emphasis on economic impact. Following the economic crash of 2007-8 festivals have had to redefine their relationships with the state, local authorities and the public. In some cases, artists began to take charge themselves, with the emergence of anti-elite, live art, cutting edge art forms, aimed at arts graduates and the informed public. Some festivals have responded to new technologies by becoming immersive, one example being *In Between Time* in Bristol.

This being said, it is clear that the influences of previous historical periods still remain and are reflected across Europe's festivals' calendar. Thus, there are many high culture festivals of the 1950s model, exemplified by *Avignon* and *Edinburgh*, that are now joined by the members of the European Festivals Association, which includes events in *St Petersburg* (Russia), *Valletta* (Malta) and *Reykjavik* (Iceland). The radical movements of the late 1960s and 1970s are represented by a wide range of niche festivals e.g. the *Boom Festival* (Portugal) and *Future Everything* (Manchester, UK). Over the same period the number of community-oriented festivals has grown significantly, in part

under the influence of diasporic festivals, such as carnivals and melas, and other civic pride-based events. Some of the community-based festivals that emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s have become subsumed under the 'city' festivals umbrella. Such changes are partly an indication of how mainstream they have become. These festivals are now used as one of the ways to encourage people back into city centres – as strategic agents of urban regeneration.

A feature of commercial practice that has also emerged is the cloned festival, which is commodified, standardised and with no special relationship with place (examples include *Leeds* and *Reading* Festivals; *WOMAD*; *Sónar* in Barcelona and 14 cities worldwide). There is a discernible trend towards larger and larger festivals across Europe, especially with the growth of the big greenfield site music festivals and city festivals. There are questions of economies of scale; larger festivals can be more profitable, but as with shopping malls this can also lead to standardisation of the product on offer.

This homogenisation of the festival product, together with co-productions and the impacts of touring companies (and their schedules and exclusivity contracts), has led to a tendency for festivals' audiences to be attracted by large programmes, which focus on big names and on tried and tested performers. The demand and therefore the scope for programming less established artists may be becoming more difficult. From a commercial point of view, this controlled market has negative consequences for some middle scale festivals that may not have the budgets to secure the bigger names and the audiences that follow them. The festivals in this book have responded to this in a variety of ways; by growing in size themselves in order to compete, as in the case of *Flow* in Helsinki, or by producing their own events (often in collaboration with other festivals), or by creating a niche appeal.

Undoubtedly the economic slump has not been all bad for festivals. Indeed much has been made in the popular press across Europe of festivals being 'recession-proof'. This may be journalistic hyperbole, but there might also be some truth in the idea of the 'staycation', the holiday at home, where people are taking more but shorter breaks within their own vicinity, which is ideal for the festival market.

Much will be made in this book of the debates surrounding *festivalisation* and *hyperfestivity*, the multiplication and mushrooming of festivals. This is partially the result of the growing intervention of local authorities into the festival scene, but is also due to the success of the festivals themselves, making them attractive commercial propositions. Economic impact studies and the success of festival leaders in persuading politicians to support festivals for economic reasons has led to the labelling of multiple events as festivals and

the corralling of pseudo-events and pre-existing festivals under the banner of 'festival seasons' or 'city festivals'. There is clearly a debate here about the extent to which artistic visions for cities are being developed and the degree to which they are being integrated into city policies, with festivals in many cases being the lead elements of such policies. Leicester City Council's 2012 Festivals Review and subsequent bid for the UK Capital of Culture title are a recent example of this trend.

Destination tourism is an important aspect of local festivals policy. Festivals provide visibility and this leads to increased media profile and thus potential sponsorship. Festivals are politically popular in particular when they can be demonstrated to contribute positively to the revitalising and regeneration arguments noted above. The possibility of developing synergies between previously unrelated activities, but which may operate as a cluster stimulated by the presence of a festival, is another reason for the adoption of festival strategies. The *Festival international de la bande dessinée d'Angoulême* (FIBD) is a good example of this. There is also an argument that festivals could play a development role in supporting local artists, local productions and in feeding into the generation of local creative industries-style clusters and structures. *Game City Festival* in Nottingham is a good example, where Nottingham Trent University and local games manufacturers are trying to build on a pre-existing industry. Thus festivals can be a stimulus for local policy makers to act on local issues, not only in industrial terms but also socially and culturally; examples of the latter will be found throughout the book. There is an increasing recognition of the strategic role of festivals not only by local government, but by national governments as well.

Another growth area in provision in recent years has been the festival of ideas, not just literary festivals such as those held in Hay-on-Wye in the UK, but also those such as *Cultural eXchanges* held at De Montfort University, Leicester, UK or *The Philosophy Festival (FestivalFilosofia)* in Modena, Carpi and Sassuolo, three cities in the Emilia Romagna region of Northern Italy. In Italy, we find festivals of science (in Genoa), economics (Trento and Rovereto), journalism (Perugia), TV and new media (Dogliani) and creativity (Florence). Such festivals aim to provide arenas in which ideas can be encountered and exchanges of opinions and thoughts are encouraged. In Italy it could be argued that the decline in the quality of national TV has led to festivals providing opportunities to meet others who want to debate serious topics.

This type of festival activity brings to the fore the notion of festivals as providing a kind of 'public sphere', a place where the 'conditions of argument' would be such that a 'reasoning public' could debate issues free from the influence of power, traditional authorities or dogma (Habermas, 1974). The

notion of the public sphere is an ideal, but one which allows us to examine the role of festivals outside of the 'entertainment paradigm' and consider their wider role in society. It could be argued that, whilst they are not called festivals of ideas, many of the examples in this book do engage with contemporary political and philosophical debates through the work that they produce and exhibit, the spaces they create for informal public engagement, and the development of their art forms, as well as their more direct involvement in urban public policy. One example is the *Mladi Levi* festival in Ljubljana, discussed by Nevenka Koprivšek (the festival's artistic director) in Chapter 10. Another important example is the *London International Festival of Theatre (LIFT)*, which since its foundation in 1983 has explored the power of theatre as a global force for change (De Wend Fenton and Neal, 2005).

This is clearly understood by organisations such as *Festival Republic*, who use their major festivals (*Latitude* and *Reading/Leeds*) in order to generate an awareness of green issues and actively encourage sustainable living during the festival, through their sustainability co-ordinators and their partnership with Julie's Bicycle. This organisation works to improve understanding of the impact of arts practice (not just festivals) on the environment. Festivals can provide a good way of integrating messages about individual and collective responsibility within the context of an event where the audience is potentially more relaxed and open to such discussions. The popularity of the Greenfields, Healing Fields and Alternative Technology camps at *Glastonbury Festival* (UK), the 20,000 volunteers at *Roskilde*, the environmental values of *Sziget* (Budapest, Hungary) and the Green Operations Europe or GO group (based in Bonn, Germany) are testament to the powerful impacts that festivals can have on audience's engagement and commitment to cleaner and more sustainable ways of living.

This engagement with festivals and the public sphere is taken up further in Chapter 3 by Monica Sassatelli. But this whole debate raises questions about the social impact of festivals and the extent to which a single liminal experience can change the opinions and behaviour of the participants. Is it more realistic to expect that festivals have to present several editions before they can induce change in their audiences and other stakeholders?

The management and leadership of festivals also feature strongly in this book. As has been stated, we are in an era of the professionalisation of festivals. Festival directors may stay in post for a number of years/seasons and festival management may therefore become an iterative process, each festival learning and developing from the last, much as an artist develops a piece of work. Many festival leaders come from art form backgrounds and bring elements of reflexive practice to their organisations.

It could also be said that festivals are outside of some of the laws of business management. Theirs is a very entrepreneurial way of working. They often lack a secure relationship with their audience and may also lack secure access to income streams either from the public sector or from ticket income, so many now rely on commercial sponsorship - a precarious basis for any creative organisation at the best of times. Organic growth is also a feature. Festivals have not been created fully formed. They evolve and change, adapting to changes in economic climate, cultural trends and audience demands. However, they are often driven by the obsessions and passion of the people who start them and managerially reliant, it could be argued, on self-exploitation and enthusiasm. Adizes' (2004a, 2004b) organisational development model is useful here, as it can be applied to the various stages of an organisation's lifecycle. Indeed one of the aspects of festival development we have already alluded to is the movement over the decades from dependence to independence to interdependence, the first state representing the reliance that some festivals have on local authorities.

Festivals exist in reality, but also in a parallel virtual world. Digital networks are vital to festivals, since the virtual world provides more opportunities for global reach and global connections. The overcoming of the local/global dichotomy, what Robertson (1997) calls 'glocalization', 'the simultaneity --- the co-presence --- of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies' is an important theme in this book and features many times in each of the sections. Many festivals may be locally derived but they are also internationally orientated. It is the proud boast of many festivals that they bring international artists to their event. The pressure we have alluded to earlier of providing 'big names', standardised formats, touring artists, illustrates the global influences on festival organisers, but can festivals also be filters for globalisation, by combining global inputs with local cultures and values? Is there a conscious effort by some festivals to achieve this? Festivals create encounters between the global and the local which challenges and changes both. Thus some of the chapters in this book are able to demonstrate how the local can act back on the global, indeed providing a foil for the perceived effects of cultural imperialism.

Multi-cultural festivals and international festivals such as the defunct *Dublin Festival of World Cultures*, or the *London International Festival of Theatre* (LIFT) deliberately set out to bring together international and local performers, as part of their cultural or aspirational remit. These types of festivals also provide a platform for local artists. Festivals such as Asian melas or Caribbean carnivals are found across Europe and provide an interesting mix of multi-cultural community interest events and imported performers, representing 'home' or 'tradition'. Increasingly there is also a generational dimension to these kinds

of festivals where the second or third generations have closer links to the host culture and want other types of experiences than the first generations who look to such festivals to recall home and traditions. These later generations, especially South Asian youth, look to global styles such as Bhangra or Bollywood dance to be an integral part of a festival's programme. A key question for these types of festivals is to what extent are multicultural festivals becoming intercultural, incorporating in their remit hybrid and collaborative cultural forms and activities? Would intercultural festivals contribute to counteracting racism and xenophobia, and to producing artistic, social and/or economic innovation more effectively than multicultural festivals? Are the advocates of intercultural festivals in European cities (generally young, often of dual heritage backgrounds) relatively marginalised in urban and cultural policy networks, by comparison with traditional ethnic community leaders (often older men), who tend to favour multicultural festivals?

The development of festivals in postwar Europe also provides an illustration of the growing importance of the cultural economy and of the widespread belief among policy makers that festivals have a major role to play in the tourism industry. Some of the case studies in this book interrogate and challenge these beliefs.

What will become apparent to the reader as they discover the various perspectives and approaches revealed by the case studies in this book, is that the world of festivals is rife with myths and ideals. There are also potent totems and some sacred cows. Each of these will need to be critically reviewed and exhaustively researched. For example, research into audiences is still one of the big gaps. Perhaps because this is a nascent field, a lot of the effects of festivals are presumed, if not distorted in claims made to local authorities or potential sponsors. This book in its aim to turn claims, rhetoric and assertions into research questions and academic debate is only the first step in a grounded discussion of festivals and festival practices.

In short, the focus of this book overall is on the contemporary European experience, and it is designed to provide convenient access to a series of case studies arranged in a 'reader' style in order to allow the book to be accessed in part or whole. As we shall see, the new era of professionalised festivals and mass festival attendance across Europe has brought with it layers of competing interests, from the national to the local, from the commercial to the subsidised, and from the overtly entertaining to the worthily cultural. Europe and the European Union provide an interesting field of study because of the long history of festivals on the continent, the size and scope of the market, the role of EU policy and the power of the European tourism industry, and not only the national but also the transnational nature of the festivals sector.

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